

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
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INR-10 IO-13 L-03 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05
SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 EB-08 OES-07 /103 W
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O R 071934Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5705
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USNATO
USMISSION USBERLIN
USMISSION GENEVA
USIA WASHDC
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1926

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

GENEVA FOR USDEL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

E.O. 11652: GDS
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TAGS: CSCE OCON
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, MARCH 7

REFS: (A) BELGRADE 1882; (B) VALLETTA 476

SUMMARY: MALTESE CONTINUE TO BLOCK ADOPTION OF CONCLUDING
DOCUMENT. YUGOSLAVS WILL MAKE HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATIONS TO

MINTOFF TODAY, BUT SPECULATION IS NOW BEGINNING TO CENTER ON FAIRLY RADICAL WAYS TO SAVE THE CSCE PROCESS FROM APPEARING COMPLETE HOSTAGE TO MALTESE INTRANSIGENCE. END SUMMARY.

1. MALTESE INFORMED SHORT PLENARY SESSIONS EVENING OF MARCH 6 AND MORNING AND AFTERNOON TODAY THAT THEIR INSTRUCTIONS ARE UNCHANGED. THERE WAS A BIT OF HOPE THIS MORNING WHEN DURING INFORMAL CONTACTS MALTESE AMBASSADOR (GAUCI) PROPOSED ON HIS OWN AUTHORITY A SMALL WORDING CHANGE THAT ALLIED AND NEUTRAL AMBASSADORS CONSIDERED ACCEPTABLE. IT WOULD HAVE MEANT MODIFYING KEY SENTENCE OF MEDITERRANEAN MEETING PARAGRAPH TO READ "ITS MANDATE WILL BE TO CONSIDER, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MEDITERRANEAN CHAPTER OF THE FINAL ACT, THE POSSIBILITIES AND MEANS OF PROMOTING CONCRETE INITIATIVES FOR MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION CONCERNING VARIOUS ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS." MALTESE REP UNDERTOOK TO RECOMMEND THIS SENTENCE, WHICH WOULD OFFER OPTICAL REFERENCE TO FULL MEDITERRANEAN DECLARATION WHILE RESTRICTING MANDATE TO NON-POLITICAL SUBJECTS, TO HIS AUTHORITIES. BRITISH SAID THEIR HIGH COMMISSIONER IN VALLETTA WOULD ALSO ATTEMPT TO WEIGH IN.

2. JUST PRIOR TO AFTERNOON SESSION, HOWEVER, GAUCI SAID IT WAS NO DEAL. HE HAD RECEIVED NEW INSTRUCTIONS FROM MINTOFF TO PROPOSE FOLLOWING LANGUAGE: BEGIN TEXT: TO CONVENE AT THE INVITATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MALTA A MEETING OF EXPERTS IN VALLETTA STARTING ON 6TH FEBRUARY 1979. THIS WOULD CONSTITUTE AN EXTENDED CONFIDENTIAL

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DIALOGUE WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES WITHIN THE CSCE PROCESS, WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF JOINTLY EXAMINING POSSIBILITIES AND MODALITIES FOR GIVING EFFECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN CHAPTER OF THE FINAL ACT, AND OF IDENTIFYING SECTORS OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT EXISTING INITIATIVES. END TEXT.

3. GAUCI ADDED THAT MINTOFF HAD AUTHORIZED HIM NOT TO OBJECT IF CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT WERE MADE WHEN THIS LANGUAGE WAS ADOPTED TO EFFECT THAT IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY WOULD NOT BE DISCUSSED AT MEETING. ALL ALLIED DELS AGREED THIS PROPOSAL WAS UNACCEPTABLE. EVEN WITH CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT, THERE WOULD BE GROUNDS FOR INTRODUCTION OF POLITICAL QUESTIONS. IN EFFECT, EXCEPT FOR REFERENCE TO "EXPERTS" AND AGREEMENT TO CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT, IT IS IDENTICAL TO PROPOSALS MALTESE WERE MAKING EARLY LAST WEEK. IT IS STEP BACK FROM WHAT THEY HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT LAST FEW DAYS SINCE IT REINTRODUCES CONCEPT OF "AN EXTENDED DIALOGUE WITH THE NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES," WHICH IS MALTESE CODE FOR INCREASED PARTICIPATORY ROLE FOR SOUTHERN LITTORAL STATES.

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INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1926

4. WE UNDERSTAND THAT YUGOSLAVS ARE TRYING TO REACH MINTOFF AT
A HIGH LEVEL TODAY TO URGE HIM TO BACK DOWN BEFORE BELGRADE
MEETING, AND POSSIBLY CSCE PROCESS WITH IT, IS REDUCED TO UNDIG-
NIFIED SHAMBLES. YUGOSLAVS, AS HOSTS AND ONE OF STRONGEST CSCE
PROponents, FEEL STRONGLY ENOUGH ABOUT STAKES TO MAKE A MAJOR
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EFFORT.

5. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE FRUSTRATION IN ALLIED CAUCUS. EVERY-ONE FEELS THAT PROLONGATION OF PRESENT IMPASSE COULD MAKE ENTIRE CSCE CONCEPT OBJECT OF RIDICULE TO PRESS AND PUBLIC. A NUMBER OF AMBASSADORS, INCLUDING DANISH SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF EC-9, EXPRESSED VIEW THAT IF MALTESE POSITION DOES NOT CHANGE BY MORNING OF MARCH 8, CAUCUS SHOULD TAKE SOME BASIC DECISIONS IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT IS ABLE TO CONTROL EVENTS.

6. PROBLEM IS THAT NO ONE HAS SURE-FIRE WAY OF ACCOMPLISHING THIS. NO ONE APPEARS TO BE CONSIDERING YIELDING WHAT MINTOFF WANTS. CONCERN IS FOR HEALTH OF CSCE PROCESS, AND CAUCUS IS NOT ATTRACTED TO ANY IDEA WHICH WOULD CONSENT TO PREMATURE ABANDONMENT OF BELGRADE MEETING. THERE IS A BELIEF, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT AN INDEFINITE SUSPENSION, WHICH WOULD IN ANY EVENT REQUIRE MALTESE CONSENT, WOULD PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE SOVIETS WHO WOULD BE GLAD TO SEE BELGRADE MEETING BREAK-UP WITHOUT A RESULT.

6. A VARIANT ON IDEA BROACHED ORIGINALLY BY AMBASSADOR GOLDBERG (REF A) IS GAINING SOME SUPPORT. IT WOULD INVOLVE AGREEMENT AMONG AS MANY AMBASSADORS AS POSSIBLE, EAST, WEST AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED, TO GIVE SOON MAJOR SUMMATION STATEMENTS IN CLOSED PLENARY, FOLLOWING YELLOW BOOK ORDER FOR CLOSING STATEMENTS. SPEAKERS WOULD EXPRESS SATISFACTION THAT ALL BUT LAST TECHNICAL REQUIREMENT FOR ADOPTING CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND ADJOURNING MEETING HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED AND SAY THAT WHILE, FORMALLY, MEETING REMAINED ON ITEM 6 OF AGENDA, DRAFTING OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, THEIR GOVERNMENTS WOULD ACT AS IF THAT DOCUMENT HAD ALREADY BEEN ADOPTED. HEADS OF DELEGATION MIGHT THEN LEAVE BELGRADE AS THEY DESIRED AND TURN INTERIM RESPONSIBILITIES OVER TO JUNIOR MEMBERS (OR EMBASSY OFFICERS) WHO WOULD CONTINUE TO ATTEND FORMAL PLENARY SESSIONS. WHEN MALTESE GAVE IN, DOCUMENT CONFIDENTIAL

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COULD BE FORMALLY ADOPTED.

7. THERE ARE MANY DRAWBACKS TO SUCH A SCENARIO, NOT LEAST THAT IT WOULD NOT ENTIRELY DISPEL AURA OF THE ABSURD WHICH IS SLOWLY ENVELOPING BELGRADE. IT WOULD SURELY NOT BE AGREED TO UNTIL LAST HOPE HAD EVAPORATED THAT MALTESE WILL YIELD IN TIME FOR MEETING TO CLOSE WITH TWO DAYS OF SPEECHES THIS WEEK -- AND THERE ARE STILL MANY WHO THINK THIS WILL HAPPEN -- AND UNTIL THERE HAD BEEN CONSULTATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVS WHO HAVE HOST'S SPECIAL CONCERN THAT MEETING END IN A SEEMLY FASHION. ALLIES WILL INCREASINGLY, HOWEVER, BE ATTEMPTING TO MEASURE POINT AT WHICH DAMAGE TO PROCESS FROM AN AWKWARD SCENARIO SUCH AS THAT SKETCHED ABOVE WOULD BE OUTWEIGHED BY DAMAGE PROCESS SUFFERS FROM A CONTINUED EXPOSURE OF HELPLESSNESS IMPOSED ON 34 STATES BY ONE STATE'S MISUSE OF THE CONSENSUS RULE.

GOLDBERG

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